

## **EXHIBIT 20**

## **Expert Declaration of Matthew A. Barreto**

### **I. Introduction**

1. Plaintiffs' attorneys in LULAC v. Abbott retained me to assess the impact of closing down satellite or auxiliary county clerk absentee ballot return office locations in multiple counties in Texas, on voter participation in the November 2020 presidential election.

2. To conduct my evaluation, I reviewed three sources of information. First, I reviewed the relevant literature on the use of ballot drop centers. Second, I examined the voter file for the state of Texas to assess how far voters lived from county drop return offices. Third, I examined relevant Census data for counties across the state of Texas. Below I summarize the findings of each.

3. Based on this research and my extensive experience working on voter engagement studies, I reached two conclusions. First, ballot drop off locations are an important tool in facilitating vote by mail. Simply put the research concludes that increasing access to ballot return office locations increases voter participation and reducing the availability of such locations results in lower voter participation. Second, voters in counties where drop return locations are being reduced will now have to travel significantly farther to get to the county seat, and this burden is especially felt by the population over the age of 65 who now must travel over 10 miles farther, on average to the county seat than to their nearest ballot return location. As compared to the statewide population, voters in counties with a reduction in return locations are more likely to be non-white; that is, voters in smaller counties that have closer and more easy access to their County Seat are much more likely to be White.

### **II. Background and Qualifications**

4. I am currently a Professor of Political Science and Chicana/o Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. I am the co-founder and faculty director of the Latino Politics and

Policy Initiative (LPPI) in the Luskin School of Public Affairs, a national research center that studies policy issues that impact the Latino and immigrant community.

5. Before I joined UCLA in 2015, I was a professor at the University of Washington for more than nine years, where I was promoted to Associate Professor with tenure, and then Full Professor with tenure. At the University of Washington, I was an affiliated faculty member of the Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences, and an adjunct Professor of Law at the UW School of Law. I am also the co-founder of the research firm Latino Decisions.

6. Throughout my career, I have taught courses on Electoral Politics, Public Opinion, Voting Rights, Immigration Policy, Racial and Ethnic Politics, Chicano/Latino History, Introduction to Statistical Analysis, and Advanced Statistical Analysis to Ph.D. students.

7. I earned a Ph.D. in Political Science at the University of California, Irvine in 2005, with an emphasis on racial and ethnic politics in the United States, political behavior, and public opinion.

8. I have published multiple peer-reviewed academic research papers on voter turnout, political participation in the U.S., barriers to voting, and minority political engagement (among other topics).

9. In 2018 I provided expert reports and testimony in three federal lawsuits challenging the Department of Commerce's inclusion of a citizenship status question on the 2020 Census, which included an extensive literature review and evaluation of how immigrants react to changes to the U.S. Census. In all three federal trials, the courts recognized my expertise in studying political and civic participation, and each court cited my literature review in ruling in favor of the plaintiffs.

10. I have conducted research nationwide and in New York, California, Indiana, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Alabama, Texas, North Dakota, and North Carolina in connection with

litigation assessing, among other things, how the public responds to, and is affected by, changes in the law. Courts have accepted my research studies as viable and methodologically accurate instruments to understand how the public responds to changes in state law. In particular, my previous research has focused on understanding sub-group analysis to evaluate differential impacts by race and ethnicity. Recently in North Carolina, a federal court relied on my research in issuing an injunction against the state's voter ID law. In addition, the United States District Court for the District of North Dakota stated in *Brakebill v. Jaeger* (No. 1:16-cv-008) that "the Court gives the findings of the Barreto/Sanchez Survey, and the other studies and data presented by the Plaintiffs, considerable weight." Prior to this, in 2014 in *Veasey v. Perry* (No. 13-CV-00193), the United States District Court for the Southern District of Texas, and in findings affirmed by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, found that my survey was statistically sound and relied upon my survey findings to evaluate the impact of Texas's voter ID law. Likewise, in *Frank v. Walker* (No. 2:11-cv-01128), a survey I administered and included as part of my expert report was given full weight by the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Wisconsin in a voter ID case in Wisconsin.

11. In *Fish v. Kobach* (No. 16-2105-JAR-JPO), the plaintiffs retained me as an expert witness to evaluate the methodology of the defendant's survey, and the United States District Court for Kansas found me to be an expert on best practices of survey research and credible and qualified to discuss survey methodology.

12. I have also regularly presented my expert review and summary of social science literature as part of expert witness reports and declarations, which have been accepted as valid and relied upon by the courts. Review of published social science literature is a well-established method among political scientists and social scientists in general for drawing valid conclusions regarding the general consensus in the field. Literature reviews are an essential component of all academic research and a requirement for publishing peer-reviewed academic research because they establish the baseline set of knowledge and expectations within the field. As noted above, in

litigation challenging the addition of a citizenship question to the 2020 decennial census, three federal courts in New York, California, and Maryland relied upon my literature review as providing credible and valid evidence to help the courts form their opinions.

13. Earlier in 2020, in *New York v. Immigration and Customs Enforcement*, I provided an in-depth literature review examining how immigrant communities respond to increased immigration enforcement, surveillance and monitoring of undocumented immigrants.

14. Recently I provided an expert report on the topic of immigrant intimidation and civic engagement related in the *New York v. Trump* Census apportionment case in which a three-judge federal panel relied upon my analysis and opinion in finding the Presidential Memorandum seeking to excluded undocumented immigrants would harm the Census count and result in intimidation.

15. My full professional qualifications and activities are set forth in my curriculum vitae, a true and correct copy of which I have attached hereto as Appendix B. I was assisted in this research by Chelsea Jones, Michael Rios and Marcel Roman, three research associates in the UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs, Voting Rights Project, who assisted with processing the voter file, downloading census data and making tables.

16. I was retained by Plaintiffs and will be compensated at a rate of \$400/hour for any trial work or testimony in this case. My compensation in this matter is not in any way contingent on the content of my opinion or the outcome of this matter.

### **III. Ballot Return Offices Are an Important Voting Option**

17. It is my understanding that some counties in Texas used ballot return offices for absentee/mail ballots in their 2020 Primary and intend to do so in the November Election. These are commonly used by many jurisdictions in the United States and have been the subject of political science research studies and public opinion research.

18. I was asked to evaluate the role of ballot return offices in facilitating vote by mail. To do so, I reviewed the relevant literature on ballot drop off locations and recent survey research, at least one survey which I conducted myself for a recent project.

19. The option to vote by mail has never been quite as important as it is in the upcoming presidential election given the host of concerns regarding the safety of in-person voting locations in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic and the threat of those sites becoming significant risks for virus cross-contamination. In light of these new challenges presented by the pandemic, voting by mail is an important, safe alternative for voters to be able to exercise their right to vote without the fear of risking their health by voting at a polling location. There is some concern, however, among voters regarding the security of voting by mail, specifically about what happens to their ballot after placing it in the mail. Adding to the concern in 2020 is the intermediary step of having to place the ballot in the service of U.S. Postal Service (“USPS”) amidst evidence of slow mail delivery and degradations in service. This concern has recently been exacerbated due to the changes that have been implemented by the new Postmaster General (Fessler & Parks, 2020)<sup>1</sup>. Although several courts have recently required the USPS to reverse some of those policies, there continues to be at least a public perception of unreliable USPS service. To reduce some of these concerns, ballot return offices are a solution that ensures everyone has access to participate in the democratic process without risking their health, or worrying about whether or not their ballot will be delivered by the USPS. Ballot drop off locations allow voters to provide their ballot directly to elections officials in a secure location within their community that is accessible.

20. Voting by mail helps reduce the barriers that many groups face when it comes to voting in person. This has been found to be especially true among voters over the age of 65 who

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<sup>1</sup> Fessler, P., & Parks, M. (2020). New Postmaster Hasn’t Yet Met Election Officials About Mail-In Ballot Concerns. *NPR*. <https://www.npr.org/2020/08/14/902545891/amid-fears-about-mail-in-ballots-election-officials-havent-met-with-new-postmast>

may find it more difficult to vote in person (Larocca & Klemanski, 2011)<sup>2</sup>. Vote by mail has also been found to increase turnout among infrequent voters who struggle to find time to make it to the polling precinct on election day (Gerber et al., 2013)<sup>3</sup>. Given changes by the USPS, some voters are concerned about mail delivery of their ballots and may prefer to drop off at a county return office location.

21. Ballot return offices can be installed in high traffic areas in counties, and monitored by county election officials. These drop locations make it so that there is no intermediary step between the voter and the county officials who collect the ballot. Mail ballot return offices are currently in use in many states and have been well received by voters. A 2014 survey of voters in Oregon and Washington found that people return their ballots in person or at ballot drop off locations primarily because of convenience and not needing postage. The third most common response was to ensure that their vote was being cast (Ueyama & Greene, 2015)<sup>4</sup>.

22. In addition to providing voters with a secure drop off location, ballot return centers have been found to increase voter turnout. Washington state for instance has held their elections as vote by mail since 2013. The Washington State Legislature passed a law in 2017 increasing the number of drop locations to one for every 15,000 voters. A study of King County Washington examined the addition of 33 new return locations to the county. These ballot return locations reduced the distance to drop off their ballot for many voters. They found that the addition of these drop off centers produced the largest increase in the probability of voting during off year and

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<sup>2</sup> Roger Larocca and John S. Klemanski. 2011. "U.S. State Election Reform and Turnout in Presidential Elections" *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*.

<sup>3</sup> Alan Gerber, Gregory Huber, Seth Hill. 2013. "Identifying the Effect of All-Mail Elections on Turnout: Staggered Reform in the Evergreen State." *Political Science Research and Methods*. June.

<sup>4</sup> Ueyama, K., & Greene, S. (2015, April 29). *Vote-By-Mail Rates More Than Double Since 2000*. <https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2015/4/29/vote-by-mail-practices-more-than-double-since-2000>

primary elections, and had a smaller but still significant impact on the 2016 presidential election (Collingwood et al., 2018)<sup>5</sup>

23. Another study of Pierce County in Washington compared voters whose closest drop location was recently installed to voters in an area where a drop location was considered, but not installed due to limits in the budget. They found that the addition of ballot return locations increased the likelihood to vote in the 2017 general election by 0.64 percent for each one-mile reduction in distance to the nearest box (McGuire et al., 2020)<sup>6</sup>. While the turnout effects were smaller for the presidential elections, we would expect that the unprecedented circumstances of the global pandemic would increase the effect of drop locations on turnout in the 2020 general election.

24. Currently absentee voting by mail is an option in every state for at least some voters, and drop return officers would help ensure that ballots are received by county officials by election night (Williamson, 2020). Vote by mail ballots are often counted sooner and can ease the process of tabulating votes for election officials (Menger & Stein, 2020)<sup>7</sup>. The use of official county ballot return centers helps assuage voters that their ballots will be received and counted.

25. The Voter Participation Center, recently implemented a multistate poll of 1,552 Latinos in Arizona Florida, Colorado, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Texas, and a poll of 1,310 African Americans in Florida, Georgia, Michigan, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Texas<sup>8</sup>. The blended phone and online poll ran from August 8 to 14 of 2020. Respondents were comprised

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<sup>5</sup> Loren Collingwood, William McGuire, Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien, Katherine Baird, and Sarah Hampson. 2018. "Do Drop Boxes Improve Voter Turnout? Evidence from King County, Washington" *Election Law Journal*. 17(1)

<sup>6</sup> William McGuire, Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien, Katherine Baird, Benjamin Corbett, Loren Collingwood. 2020. "Does Distance Matter? Evaluating the Impact of Drop Boxes on Voter Turnout" *Social Science Quarterly*. 101(5)

<sup>7</sup> Menger, A., & Stein, R. M. (2020). Choosing the Less Convenient Way to Vote: An Anomaly in Vote by Mail Elections. *Political Research Quarterly*, 73(1), 196–207.

<sup>8</sup> <https://latinodecisions.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/VPC-Vote-By-Mail-Latino-Black-Survey.pdf>



mainly of registered voters (85%) with some eligible to vote, but not yet registered (15%). In this study a range of questions were asked regarding familiarity with the vote by mail process and trust in having vote by mail ballots counted.

26. African Americans and Latinos over the age of 65 are particularly concerned about contracting COVID-19 at in-person voting, given the much higher rates of contracting the illness, being hospitalized and death in the minority community. Overall, 79% of Latinos in Texas and 73% of Blacks in Texas reported they were concerned about being exposed to coronavirus if they vote in-person for the November 2020 election. Thus, voting by mail is an important option for Black and Latino voters over the age of 65. Trust in the vote by mail process is mixed among African American and Latino voters. Respondents were asked “if election officials in your state sent a ballot in the mail to your house or apartment, and you filled it out and mailed it back in, generally speaking how much trust and confidence would you have that your ballot would be counted in the election. Among eligible voters in Texas, 31% of Latinos said they would be very confident, 34% were somewhat confident, 18% were not that confident, and 17% were not at all confident. Among African Americans 29% were very confident, 38% are somewhat confident, 15% are not that confident and 18% are not at all confident.

27. Voters are particularly concerned about the USPS delivering their ballots, which suggests drop off locations are an important option. Specifically, there is concern that the post office will not correctly deliver their ballots back to the county elections office, with 45% of Texas Latinos and 46% of Texas African Americans not trusting that their ballot will be delivered. Previous research has found that those who distrust the postal service are less likely to submit their ballot by mail even when they have a vote by mail ballot. Instead they are more likely to prefer dropping their ballot off because they believe it to be more secure (Menger & Stein, 2020)<sup>9</sup>. These concerns are understandable given that in June there were significant delays in ballot delivery

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<sup>9</sup> Menger, A., & Stein, R. M. (2020). Choosing the Less Convenient Way to Vote: An Anomaly in Vote by Mail Elections. *Political Research Quarterly*, 73(1), 196–207.

during Georgia's primary election which was a concern for many minority voters (Fausset & Epstein, 2020)<sup>10</sup>.

28. A significant share of Black and Latino voters in Texas also reported that having to drive a long way to polling locations would create a concern for them. Among Latinos, 40% are worried about reductions in voting locations would lead to too long of a drive to vote, and 33% of Blacks share this concern according to the survey.

29. Blacks and Latinos prefer to provide their ballot directly to the election officials, and this was reflected in our research. 65% of Latinos and 66% of African Americans stated that they prefer to vote in person because they believe their vote is more likely to count than if they vote by mail. Ballot return locations are one way to mitigate this concern. By more widely disseminating ballot drop centers, voters can be reassured that their ballot will be directly picked up by county election officials rather than having their ballot go through the post office.

#### **IV. Reducing Ballot Return Locations Creates Burdens for Voters**

30. It is my understanding that Texas Governor Greg Abbott has ordered multiple counties to close locations where voters can drop off mail-in ballots<sup>11</sup>. Closing down ballot drop locations will make it more difficult for voters to cast their ballots in impacted counties such as Harris, Travis, Galveston and Fort Bend where multiple county locations had been planned.

31. In particular, driving a longer distance puts an additional burden on voters over the age of 65 which may be less comfortable driving in the first place, and less comfortable driving

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<sup>10</sup> Fausset, R., & Epstein, R. (2020, June 10). Georgia's Election Mess: Many Problems, Plenty of Blame, Few Solutions for November. *New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/10/us/politics/georgia-primary-election-voting.html>

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.statesman.com/news/20201001/abbott-orders-counties-to-close-multiple-ballot-drop-off-sites>

longer distances (Roth, 2019<sup>12</sup> and Gillins, 1990<sup>13</sup>) and according to a comprehensive study by Bhat and Hutchinson (2018)<sup>14</sup> “those in the older elderly subgroups are less likely to have driver’s licenses, depict lower levels of mobility and trip making, exhibit lower levels of car ownership, and undertake fewer activities and spend less time outside the home. In other words, the fading of activity-travel engagement with age continues to be an issue confronting individuals as they advance into the later stages and ages of life.” Simply put, reducing the availability, or distance to drop off locations will negatively impact older voters.

32. The reduction in ballot return locations creates a higher burden in four counties with large populations: Harris, Travis, Fort Bend and Galveston. According to table 1, the 215 smallest counties in Texas have a combined population roughly equal to Harris County. The smallest 215 counties have a total population of 4,671,909 and will have available 215 drop locations in each county seat. In contrast, Harris County has a population of 4,713,325 and under the new plan will only have one single ballot return location available. On a per capita basis, voters in the smallest 215 counties have one ballot return location per each 21,730 residents, while Harris County will have just one drop off location per its 4.7 million residents.

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<sup>12</sup> John P. Rothe. 2019. *The safety of elderly drivers: yesterday’s young in today’s traffic*. New York: Routledge.

<sup>13</sup> Linda Gillins. 1990. “Yielding to Age: When the Elderly Can No Longer Drive.” *Journal of Gerontological Nursing*. 16(11): 12-15.

<sup>14</sup> Chandra Bhat and Josephn Hutchinson. 2018. “Changing Nature of Activity-Travel Behavior of the Elderly.” TR Circular E-C238: 2018 National Household Travel Survey Workshop. August 8.

33. **Table 1: Characteristics of Counties in Texas Impacted by Ballot Return****Reductions**

	Statewide	Counties Less than 100,000	Harris County	Travis County	Fort Bend County	Galveston County
Number of Counties	254	215	1	1	1	1
Data Year	2019	2018	2019	2019	2019	2019
Total Population	28,995,881	4,671,909	4,713,325	1,273,954	811,688	342,139
% White, not-Hispanic	41.1%	58.4%	28.5%	48.8%	31.8%	56.7%
% Black or African American	11.9%	7.8%	18.5%	7.8%	19.9%	12.4%
% Hispanic or Latino	39.7%	31.0%	43.7%	33.6%	24.9%	25.4%
% of Housing Units - Owner Occupied	61.9%	72.3%	53.3%	52.3%	77.5%	67.7%
% of Housing Units - Renter Occupied	38.1%	27.7%	46.7%	47.7%	22.5%	32.3%
Average Commute to Work (In Min)	27	23	29	25	33	28
Drop Locations as of 10/01/2020	271	215	11	4	4	2
Population per each drop location	106,996	21,730	428,484	318,489	202,922	171,070
Drop Locations <u>after</u> 10/01/2020	254	215	1	1	1	1
Population per each drop location	114,157	21,730	4,713,325	1,273,954	811,688	342,139

34. In addition, voters in Travis, Forth Bend and Galveston will all face significantly less access on a per capita basis, and far less access than voters in the smallest 215 counties. Voters in the smallest counties are also much more likely to be White at 58% compared to just 41% statewide and only 28.5% white in Harris and 31.8% white in Fort Bend.

35. When we focus more narrowly on the per capita access to drop off locations for people who use absentee vote-by-mail the discrepancy gets even worse. In the smallest 215 counties which are unaffected by the new ruling, there were a combined 47,640 vote by mail ballots cast for the July 14, 2020 primary, and had 215 drop locations available, for roughly one drop location per each 222 absentee ballots. In Harris County alone there were 70,689 mail ballots in the July primary and with 11 locations, it was 6,426 absentee ballots per each drop location.

However, removing 10 of those locations, now Harris County has just one drop location for the 70,689 absentee ballots from the July primary, while smaller counties have one location per 222 absentee ballots – making Harris County *319 times less accessible*. In Travis County where 15,797 ballots were cast by mail in July, with only one location they would now be 71 times less accessible than voters in the smaller counties.

36. **Table 2: Number of Voters by Counties in Texas Impacted by Ballot Return Reductions**

	Statewide	Counties Less than 100,000	Harris County	Travis County	Fort Bend County	Galveston County
Number of Counties	254	215	1	1	1	1
Registered voters	16,359,786	2,899,040	2,401,906	829,305	462,754	220,192
Reg voters per drop location (now)	60,368	13,484	218,355	207,326	115,689	110,096
Reg voters per drop location (July)	64,409	13,484	2,401,906	829,305	462,754	220,192
VBM in July 14, 2020	293,466	47,640	70,689	15,797	9,860	4,459
Ballots per drop location (now)	1,155	222	70,689	15,797	9,860	4,459
Ballots per drop location (July)	1,083	222	6,426	3,949	2,465	2,230

37. According to ballot request statistics, Harris County has already received 215,000 absentee ballot requests and expected thousands more for the November election. In Travis County estimates are that 100,000 voters will vote using absentee ballots<sup>15</sup>, while in Fort Bend officials estimate as many as 50,000 mail ballot requests. These represent dramatic increases over the November 2016 election as well as the July 2020 primary runoff, and counties should be allowed to reduce congestion and increase access for voters who wish to drop off their ballots and not use USPS.

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.statesman.com/news/20201001/abbott-orders-counties-to-close-multiple-ballot-drop-off-sites>

38. These larger counties also face more congested roads and worse traffic than smaller, more rural and less populated counties. On average, residents in smaller counties had a shorter commute time to work, while residents in Harris, Travis, Fort Bend and Galveston all faced significantly more traffic, congestion, and longer average commute times to work. Further, data from the Census suggests voters in Harris and Travis counties, are less likely to have access to a car in their household. More than 100,000 households in Harris County do not have a car while in Travis County over 30,000 households do not have a car.

39. Given the closure of satellite locations, voters in Harris, Travis, Fort Bend and Galveston County must now drive significantly farther to drop off their absentee ballots for the November election. Harris County had planned to use 11 total locations, however 10 are being closed, which means all mail-in ballots must be dropped off at a single location. In Harris County, the average voter was 5.64 miles away from their nearest satellite county clerk ballot drop location under the plan to allow 11 such locations. Reducing this to just the county seat means the average distance will increase to 16.88 miles, approximately 3 times farther. These results are presented in table 3 below. In fact, an analysis reported in The Guardian<sup>16</sup> noted that the distance from the northwest corner of Harris County to the downtown Houston ballot drop location was 47 miles. According to the analysis, Harris County, measuring 1,777 square miles is larger than the state of Rhode Island (1,212 square miles) however Rhode Island contains 39 mail ballot drop locations compared to just one in Harris.

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<sup>16</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/oct/03/texas-mail-in-ballot-drop-off-sites>

40. **Table 3: Average Distance to Ballot Return Locations in Harris County**

Table 3A. Average Distance to Drop off Locations by Race

<b>Racial Subgroup</b>	<b>Distance to Drop box</b>	<b>Distance to County Seat</b>	<b>Change in Distance</b>
All	5.64	16.88	11.25
Black	5.79	13.03	7.23
Latino	5.12	15.32	10.20
Asian	5.76	17.25	11.48
White	5.81	18.55	12.73

Table 3B. Average Distance to Drop off Locations by Age

<b>Age Group</b>	<b>Distance to Drop box</b>	<b>Distance to County Seat</b>	<b>Change in Distance</b>
All	5.64	16.88	11.25
Under 65	5.65	16.95	11.30
65 +	5.61	16.06	10.99

Table 3C. Average Distance to Drop off Locations by Neighborhood Poverty

<b>Neighborhood Poverty Rate</b>	<b>Distance to Drop box</b>	<b>Distance to County Seat</b>	<b>Change in Distance</b>
Less 10%	6.00	20.07	14.06
10 – 25%	5.44	14.64	9.19
25 – 50%	4.51	9.26	4.75
50 – 75%	4.74	6.66	1.92
Greater 75%	6.50	10.77	4.28

41. As is evident from the map of county ballot return locations in Harris County (Appendix A), the only remaining location in central Houston is now much farther for voters in Cypress, Spring, Humble and Baytown. In particular, voters over the age of 65 are more likely to live farther away and now face higher burdens in having to drive a greater distance to drop off their ballot.

42. In Travis County, a similar pattern emerges with 46 percent of all voters living over 10 miles away from the County Seat drop off location, and Latinos slightly more disadvantaged

with 49% living over 10 miles away. Voters over age 65 in Travis are also more disadvantaged with 52% living over 10 miles away from the County Seat.

43. **Table 4: Proportion of voters living far away from County Seat in Travis County**

Table 4A. Proportion of voters living further than **1 – 15 miles** away from the County Seat Drop off Location

<b>Racial Subgroup</b>	<b>Greater than 1 mile</b>	<b>Greater than 5 miles</b>	<b>Greater than 10 miles</b>	<b>Greater than 15 miles</b>
All	0.99	0.75	0.46	0.16
Black	0.99	0.57	0.33	0.05
Latino	0.99	0.79	0.49	0.10
Asian	0.99	0.78	0.37	0.07
White	0.99	0.75	0.47	0.18

Table 4B. Proportion of voters living further than **1 – 15 miles** away from the County Seat Drop off Location

<b>Age Subgroup</b>	<b>Greater than 1 mile</b>	<b>Greater than 5 miles</b>	<b>Greater than 10 miles</b>	<b>Greater than 15 miles</b>
All	0.99	0.75	0.46	0.17
Under 65	0.99	0.74	0.45	0.15
65 +	0.99	0.80	0.52	0.22

After reviewing defendants report(s), I plan to offer rebuttal opinions as requested by Plaintiffs.

Executed on October 5, 2020 at Agoura Hills, CA.



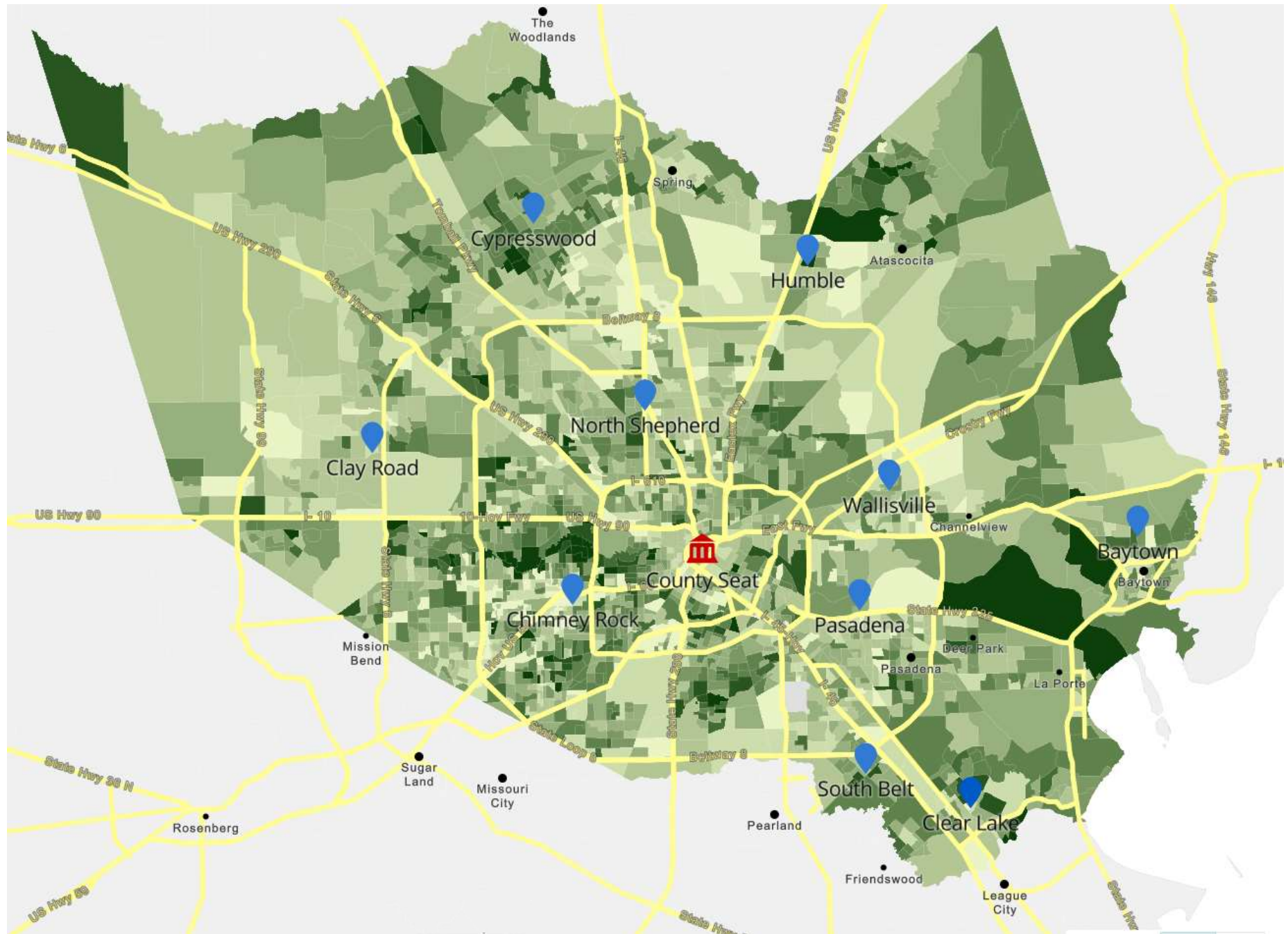
Matthew A. Barreto, Ph.D.



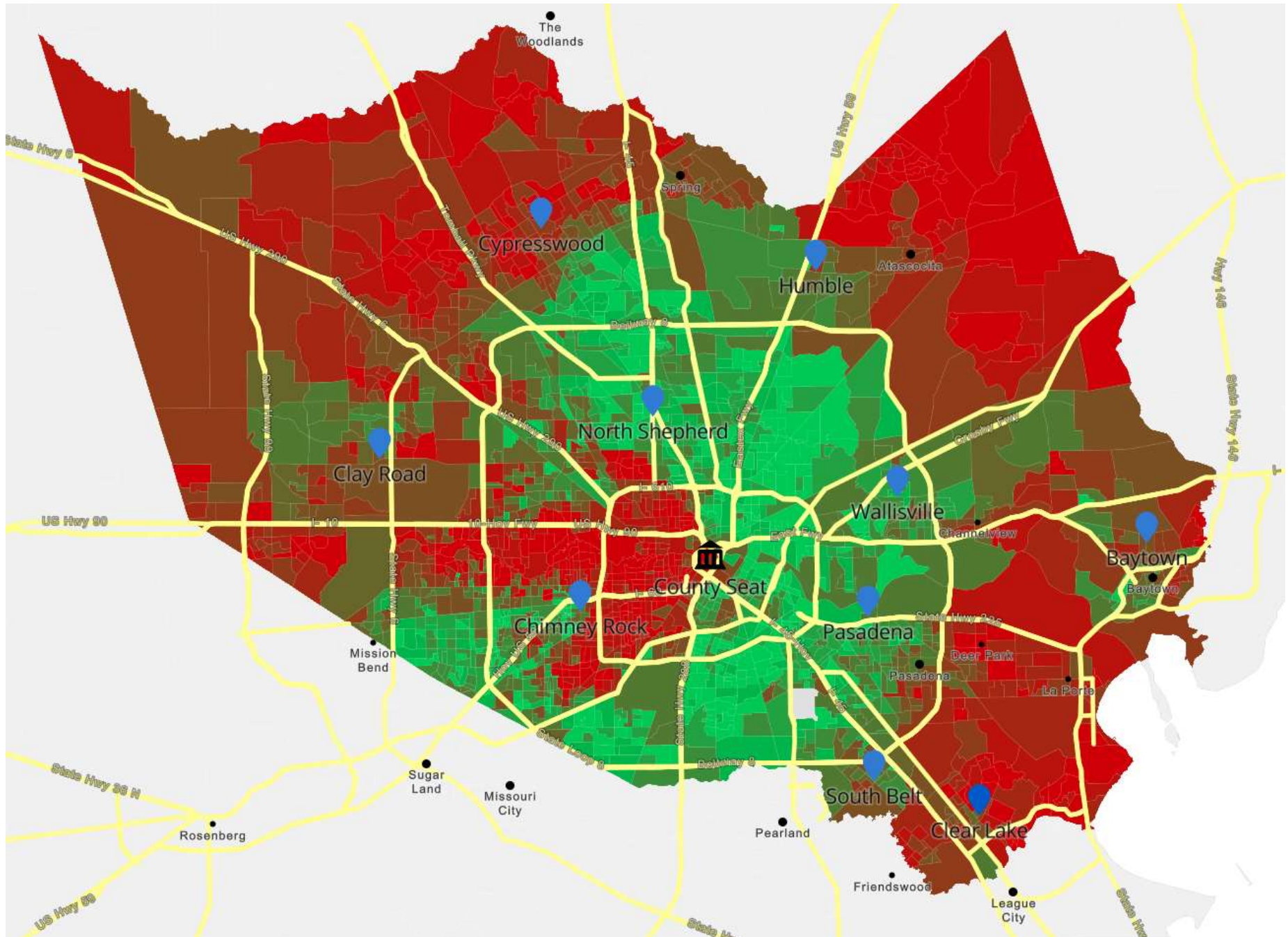
## **Appendix A**

### **Harris County and Fort Bend County Maps of Drop Box Locations**

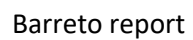
### Harris County Map of Drop Box Locations – shaded by % over 65 (Green)



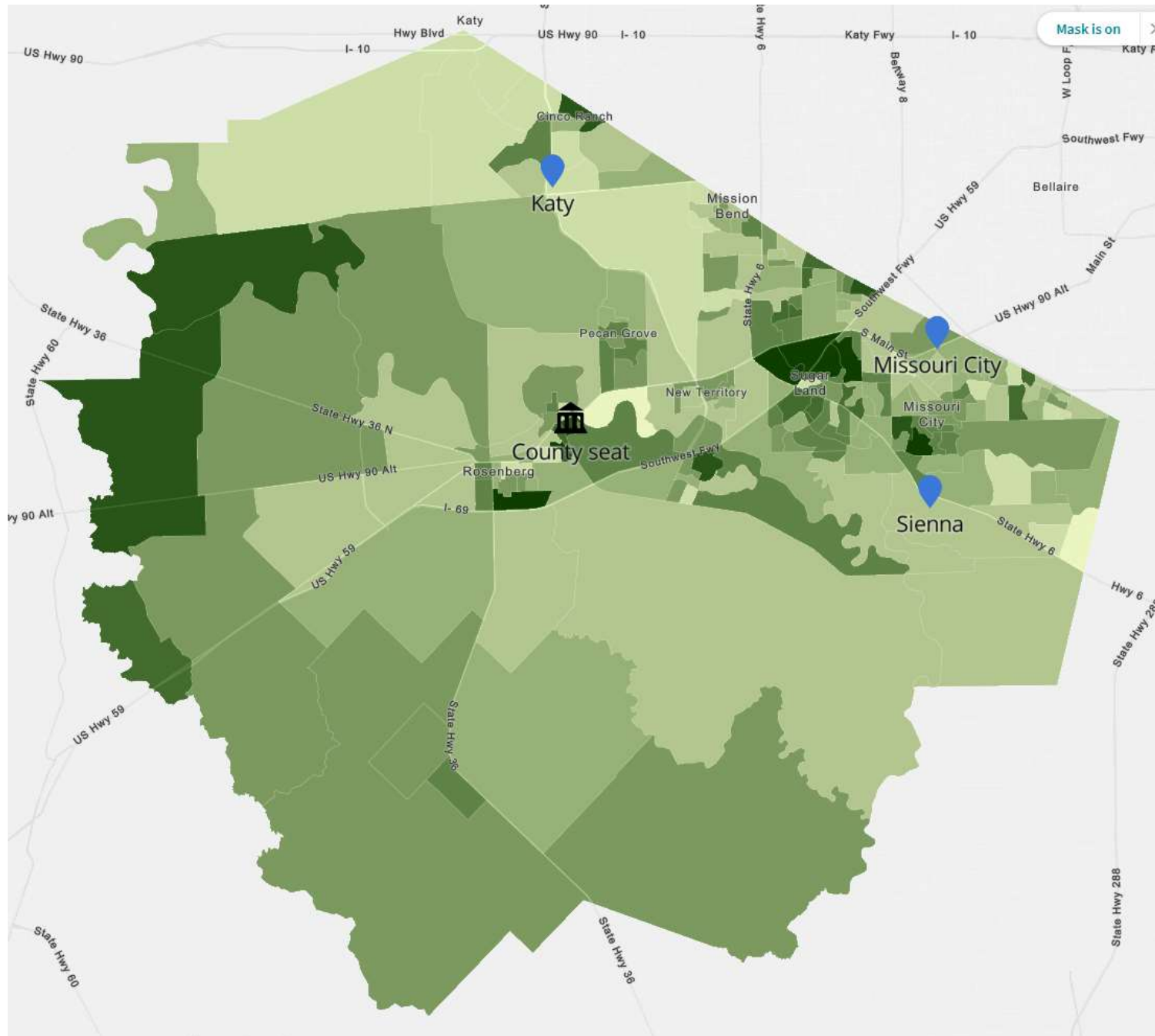
**Harris County Map of Drop Box Locations – shaded by % White (red)**



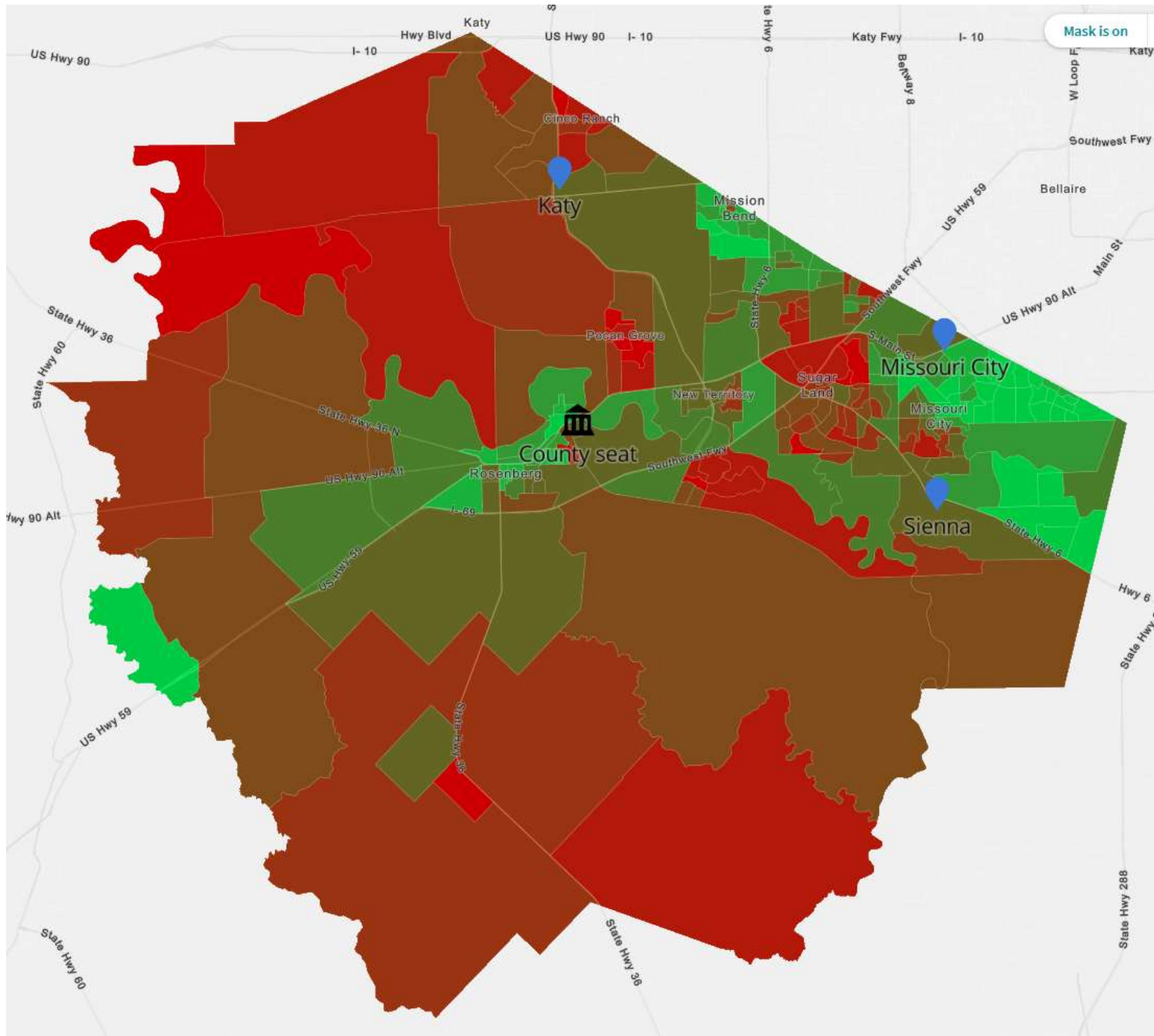




**Fort Bend County Map of Drop Box Locations – shaded by % over 65 (Green)**

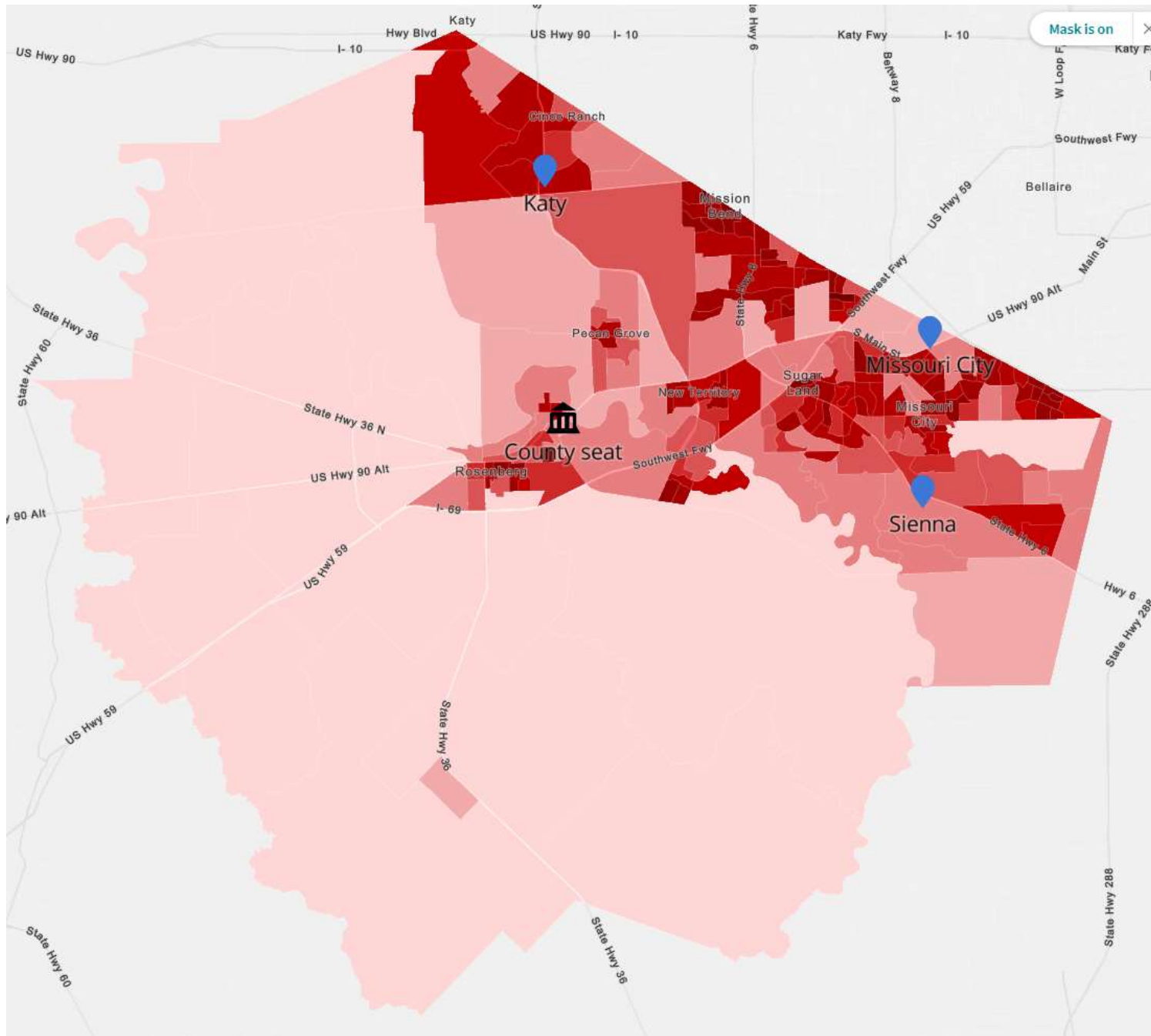


**Fort Bend County Map of Drop Box Locations – shaded by % White (red)**





**Fort Bend County Map of Drop Box Locations – shaded by population density per sq mi (red)**



## **Appendix B**

**Matthew A. Barreto – CV**





**MATT A. BARRETO – BARRETOM@UCLA.EDU**

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**EMPLOYMENT:**

**Professor**, Political Science, University of California Los Angeles (2015 – present)  
**Professor**, Chicana/o Studies, University of California Los Angeles (2015 – present)  
**Co-Founder & Faculty Director**, Latino Policy & Politics Initiative

Dept. Political Science, University of Washington

**Professor** (2014 – 2015)

**Associate Professor** (2009 – 2014)

**Assistant Professor** (2005 – 2009)

**Co-Founder & Director**, Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race

**Founding Director**, Center for Democracy and Voting Rights, UW School of Law

**Affiliated Research Centers**

Latino Policy & Politics Initiative (LPPI), University of California, Los Angeles

Chicano Studies Research Center (CSRC), University of California, Los Angeles

Center for the Study of Los Angeles (CSLA), Loyola Marymount University

**PERSONAL:**

Born: June 6, 1976

San Juan, Puerto Rico

High School: 1994, Washburn Rural HS, Topeka, KS

**EDUCATION:**

**Ph.D., Political Science, June 2005**

University of California – Irvine

Sub Fields: American Politics / Race, Ethnicity and Politics / Methodology

Thesis: Ethnic Cues: The Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Participation

Thesis Committee: Bernard Grofman (chair), Louis DeSipio, Katherine Tate, Carole Uhlaner

Thesis Awards: *Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities, 04-05*

*University of California President's Dissertation Fellowship, 04-05*

*University of California Institute for Mexico & the U.S. Dissertation Grant, 04-05*

**Master of Science, Social Science, March 2003**

University of California – Irvine

**Bachelor of Science, Political Science, May 1998**

Eastern New Mexico University, Portales, NM

Minor: English. Cumulative GPA: 3.9, *Summa Cum Laude*

**PUBLICATION RECORD**

Google Scholar citation indices: Cites: 3,768 h-index: 28 i10-index: 54 Years post-PhD: 15 Cites/year: 236

**BOOK MANUSCRIPTS:**

Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. nd. The Great White Hope: Donald Trump, Race, and the Crisis of American Politics. Under Contract, University of Chicago Press. *expected Fall 2020*

Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura. 2014. Latino America: How America's Most Dynamic Population is Poised to Transform the Politics of the Nation. Public Affairs Books. (Sept)

Barreto, Matt and David Leal, editors. 2018. Race, Class, and Precinct Quality in American Cities. Springer Press.

Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto. 2013. Change They Can't Believe In: The Tea Party and Reactionary Politics in America. Princeton University Press. *Winner: APSA Best Book Award for Race, Ethnicity, Politics, 2014*

Barreto, Matt. 2010. Ethnic Cues: The Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Participation. University of Michigan Press

**PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES**

73. Reny, Tyler and Matt A. Barreto. 2020. "Xenophobia in the time of pandemic: othering, anti-Asian attitudes, and COVID-19 " *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. 8(2).

72. Flores, Lucy and Matt A. Barreto. 2020. "Latina Voters: The key electoral force" *Journal of Cultural Marketing Strategy*. 4(2).

71. Frasure-Yokley, Lorrie, Janelle Wong, Edward Vargas and Matt A. Barreto 2020. "THE COLLABORATIVE MULTIRACIAL POST-ELECTION SURVEY (CMPS): BUILDING THE ACADEMIC PIPELINE THROUGH DATA ACCESS, PUBLICATION, AND NETWORKING OPPORTUNITIES" *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 53(1)

70. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, Sergio Garcia-Rios and Kassra Oskooii. 2019. "Estimating Candidate Support: Comparing Iterative EI and EI-RxC Methods" *Sociological Methods and Research*. 48(4).

69. Gonzalez-O'Brien, Benjamin, Matt Barreto and Gabriel Sanchez. 2019. "They're All Out to Get Me! Assessing Inter-Group Competition Among Multiple Populations." *Politics, Groups and Identities*. 7(4).

68. Oskooii, Kassra, Karam Dana and Matt Barreto. 2019. "Beyond generalized ethnocentrism: Islam-specific beliefs and prejudice toward Muslim Americans." *Politics, Groups and Identities* 7(3)

67. Vargas, Edward, Gabriel Sanchez, Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga, and Matt Barreto. 2019. "How Latinos' Perceptions of Environmental Health Threats Impact Policy Preferences." *Social Science Quarterly*. 101(1).

66. Walker, Hannah, Marcel Roman and Matt Barreto. 2019. "The Direct and Indirect Effects of Immigration Enforcement on Latino Political Engagement." *UCLA Law Review*. 67.

65. Gutierrez, Angela, Angela Ocampo, Matt Barreto, and Gary Segura. 2019. "Somos Más : How Racial Threat and Anger Mobilized Latino Voters in the Trump Era" *Political Research Quarterly*. 72(4)

64. Chouhoud, Youssef, Karam Dana, and Matt Barreto. 2019. "American Muslim Political Participation: Between Diversity and Cohesion." *Politics and Religion*. 12(S3).

63. Barreto, Matt, Stephen Nuño, Gabriel Sanchez, and Hannah Walker. 2019. "Race, Class and Barriers to Voting in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Unequal Impact of Voter ID Laws." *American Politics Research*

62. Barreto, Matt. 2018. "The cycle of under-mobilization of minority voters: A comment on 'Selective recruitment of voter neglect?'" *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*. 3(1).
61. Ocampo, Angela, Karam Dana and Matt Barreto. 2018. "The American Muslim Voter: Community Belonging and Political Participation." *Social Science Research*. 69(4).
60. Barreto, Matt, Lorrie Frasure-Yokley, Edward Vargas, Janelle Wong. 2018. "Best practices in collecting online data with Asian, Black, Latino, and White respondents: evidence from the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey." *Politics, Groups & Identities*. 6(1).
59. Barreto, Matt, Tyler Reny and Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta. 2017. "A debate about survey research methodology and the Latina/o vote: why a bilingual, bicultural, Latino-centered approach matters to accurate data." *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies*. 42(2).
58. Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura. 2017. "Understanding Latino Voting Strength in 2016 and Beyond: Why Culturally Competent Research Matters." *Journal of Cultural Marketing Strategy*. 2:2
57. Dana, Karam, Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta and Matt Barreto. 2017. "The Political Incorporation of Muslims in America: The Mobilizing Role of Religiosity in Islam." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity & Politics*.
56. Collingwood, Loren, Kassra Oskooii, Sergio Garcia-Rios, and Matt Barreto. 2016. "eiCompare: Comparing Ecological Inference Estimates across EI and EL: RxC." *The R Journal*. 8:2 (Dec).
55. Garcia-Rios, Sergio I. and Matt A. Barreto. 2016. "Politicized Immigrant Identity, Spanish-Language Media, and Political Mobilization in 2012" *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, 2(3): 78-96.
54. Barreto, Matt, Collingwood, Loren, Christopher Parker, and Francisco Pedraza. 2015. "Racial Attitudes and Race of Interviewer Item Non-Response." *Survey Practice*. 8:3.
53. Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura 2015. "Obama y la seducción del voto Latino." *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica*. 15:2 (Jul).
52. Barreto, Matt and Loren Collingwood 2015. "Group-based appeals and the Latino vote in 2012: How immigration became a mobilizing issue." *Electoral Studies*. 37 (Mar).
51. Collingwood, Loren, Matt Barreto and Sergio García-Rios. 2014. "Revisiting Latino Voting: Cross-Racial Mobilization in the 2012 Election" *Political Research Quarterly*. 67:4 (Sep).
50. Bergman, Elizabeth, Gary Segura and Matt Barreto. 2014. "Immigration Politics and Electoral Consequences: Anticipating the Dynamics of Latino Vote in the 2014 Election" *California Journal of Politics and Policy*. (Feb)
49. Barreto, Matt and Sergio García-Rios. 2012. "El poder del voto latino en Estados Unidos en 2012" *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica*. 12:4 (Nov).
48. Collingwood, Loren, Matt Barreto and Todd Donovan. 2012. "Early Primaries, Viability and Changing Preferences for Presidential Candidates." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. 42:1(Mar).
47. Barreto, Matt, Betsy Cooper, Ben Gonzalez, Chris Towler, and Christopher Parker. 2012. "The Tea Party in the Age of Obama: Mainstream Conservatism or Out-Group Anxiety?." *Political Power and Social Theory*. 22:1(Jan).
46. Dana, Karam, Matt Barreto and Kassra Oskooii. 2011. "Mosques as American Institutions: Mosque Attendance, Religiosity and Integration into the American Political System." *Religions*. 2:2 (Sept).
45. Barreto, Matt, Christian Grose and Ana Henderson. 2011. "Redistricting: Coalition Districts and the Voting Rights Act." *Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy*. (May)
44. Barreto, Matt and Stephen Nuño. 2011. "The Effectiveness of Co-Ethnic Contact on Latino Political Recruitment." *Political Research Quarterly*. 64 (June). 448-459.

43. Garcia-Castañón, Marcela, Allison Rank and Matt Barreto. 2011 “Plugged in or tuned out? Youth, Race, and Internet Usage in the 2008 Election.” *Journal of Political Marketing*. 10:2 115-138.
42. Barreto, Matt, Victoria DeFrancesco, and Jennifer Merolla. 2011 “Multiple Dimensions of Mobilization: The Impact of Direct Contact and Political Ads on Latino Turnout in the 2000 Presidential Election.” *Journal of Political Marketing*. 10:1
41. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, and Sylvia Manzano. 2010. “Measuring Latino Political Influence in National Elections” *Political Research Quarterly*. 63:4 (Dec)
40. Barreto, Matt, and Francisco Pedraza. 2009. “The Renewal and Persistence of Group Identification in American Politics.” *Electoral Studies*. 28 (Dec) 595-605
39. Barreto, Matt and Dino Bozonelos. 2009. “Democrat, Republican, or None of the Above? Religiosity and the Partisan Identification of Muslim Americans” *Politics & Religion* 2 (Aug). 1-31
38. Barreto, Matt, Sylvia Manzano, Ricardo Ramírez and Kathy Rim. 2009. “Immigrant Social Movement Participation: Understanding Involvement in the 2006 Immigration Protest Rallies.” *Urban Affairs Review*. 44: (5) 736-764
37. Grofman, Bernard and Matt Barreto. 2009. “A Reply to Zax’s (2002) Critique of Grofman and Migalski (1988): Double Equation Approaches to Ecological Inferences.” *Sociological Methods and Research*. 37 (May)
36. Barreto, Matt, Stephen Nuño and Gabriel Sanchez. 2009. “The Disproportionate Impact of Voter-ID Requirements on the Electorate – New Evidence from Indiana.” *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 42 (Jan)
35. Barreto, Matt, Luis Fraga, Sylvia Manzano, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and Gary Segura. 2008. “Should they dance with the one who brung ‘em? Latinos and the 2008 Presidential election” *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 41 (Oct).
34. Barreto, Matt, Mara Marks and Nathan Woods. 2008. “Are All Precincts Created Equal? The Prevalence of Low- Quality Precincts in Low-Income and Minority Communities.” *Political Research Quarterly*. 62
33. Barreto, Matt. 2007. “*Si Se Puede!* Latino Candidates and the Mobilization of Latino Voters.” *American Political Science Review*. 101 (August): 425-441.
32. Barreto, Matt and David Leal. 2007. “Latinos, Military Service, and Support for Bush and Kerry in 2004.” *American Politics Research*. 35 (March): 224-251.
31. Barreto, Matt, Mara Marks and Nathan Woods. 2007. “Homeownership: Southern California’s New Political Fault Line?” *Urban Affairs Review*. 42 (January). 315-341.
30. Barreto, Matt, Matt Streb, Fernando Guerra, and Mara Marks. 2006. “Do Absentee Voters Differ From Polling Place Voters? New Evidence From California.” *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 70 (Summer): 224-34.
29. Barreto, Matt, Fernando Guerra, Mara Marks, Stephen Nuño, and Nathan Woods. 2006. “Controversies in Exit Polling: Implementing a racially stratified homogenous precinct approach.” *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 39 (July) 477-83.
28. Barreto, Matt, Ricardo Ramírez, and Nathan Woods. 2005. “Are Naturalized Voters Driving the California Latino Electorate? Measuring the Impact of IRCA Citizens on Latino Voting.” *Social Science Quarterly*. 86 (December): 792-811.
27. Barreto, Matt. 2005. “Latino Immigrants at the Polls: Foreign-born Voter Turnout in the 2002 Election.” *Political Research Quarterly*. 58 (March): 79-86.
26. Barreto, Matt, Mario Villarreal and Nathan Woods. 2005. “Metropolitan Latino Political Behavior: Turnout and Candidate Preference in Los Angeles.” *Journal of Urban Affairs*. 27(February): 71-91.
25. Leal, David, Matt Barreto, Jongho Lee and Rodolfo de la Garza. 2005. “The Latino Vote in the 2004 Election.” *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 38 (January): 41-49.
24. Marks, Mara, Matt Barreto and Nathan Woods. 2004. “Harmony and Bliss in LA? Race and Racial Attitudes a Decade After the 1992 Riots.” *Urban Affairs Review*. 40 (September): 3-18.

23. Barreto, Matt, Gary Segura and Nathan Woods. 2004. "The Effects of Overlapping Majority-Minority Districts on Latino Turnout." *American Political Science Review*. 98 (February): 65-75.
22. Barreto, Matt and Ricardo Ramírez. 2004. "Minority Participation and the California Recall: Latino, Black, and Asian Voting Trends 1990 – 2003." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 37 (January): 11-14.
21. Barreto, Matt and José Muñoz. 2003. "Reexamining the 'politics of in-between': political participation among Mexican immigrants in the United States." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*. 25 (November): 427-447.
20. Barreto, Matt. 2003. "National Origin (Mis)Identification Among Latinos in the 2000 Census: The Growth of the "Other Hispanic or Latino" Category." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy*. 15 (June): 39-63.

***Edited Volume Book Chapters***

19. Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura. 2020. "Latino Reaction and Resistance to Trump: Lessons learned from Pete Wilson and 1994." In Raul Hinojosa and Edward Telles (eds.) Equitable Globalization: Expanding Bridges, Overcoming Walls. Oakland: University of California Press.
18. Barreto, Matt, Albert Morales and Gary Segura. 2019. "The Brown Tide and the Blue Wave in 2018" In Larry Sabato, Kyle Kondik, Geoffrey Skelley (eds.) The Blue Wave. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
17. Gutierrez, Angela, Angela Ocampo and Matt Barreto. 2018. "Obama's Latino Legacy: From Unknown to Never Forgotten" In Andrew Rudalevige and Bert Rockman (eds.) The Obama Legacy. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press.
16. Barreto, Matt, Thomas Schaller and Gary Segura. 2017. "Latinos and the 2016 Election: How Trump Lost Latinos on Day 1" In Larry Sabato, Kyle Kondik, Geoffrey Skelley (eds.) Trumped: The 2016 Election that Broke All the Rules. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
15. Walker, Hannah, Gabriel Sanchez, Stephen Nuño, Matt Barreto 2017. "Race and the Right to Vote: The Modern Barrier of Voter ID Laws" In Todd Donovan (ed.) Election Rules and Reforms. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
14. Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. 2015. "Public Opinion and Reactionary Movements: From the Klan to the Tea Party" In Adam Berinsky (ed.) New Directions in Public Opinion. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New York: Routledge Press.
13. Barreto, Matt and Gabriel Sanchez. 2014. "A 'Southern Exception' in Black-Latino Attitudes?." In Anthony Affigne, Evelyn Hu-Dehart, Marion Orr (eds.) Latino Politics en Ciencia Política. New York: New York University Press.
12. Barreto, Matt, Ben Gonzalez, and Gabriel Sanchez. 2014. "Rainbow Coalition in the Golden State? Exposing Myths, Uncovering New Realities in Latino Attitudes Towards Blacks." In Josh Kun and Laura Pulido (eds.) Black and Brown in Los Angeles: Beyond Conflict and Coalition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
11. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, Ben Gonzalez, and Christopher Parker. 2011. "Tea Party Politics in a Blue State: Dino Rossi and the 2010 Washington Senate Election" In William Miller and Jeremy Walling (eds.) Stuck in the Middle to Lose: Tea Party Effects on 2010 U.S. Senate Elections. Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group.
10. Jason Morin, Gabriel Sanchez and Matt Barreto. 2011. "Perceptions of Competition Between Latinos and Blacks: The Development of a Relative Measure of Inter-Group Competition." In Edward Telles, Gaspar Rivera-Salgado and Mark Sawyer (eds.) Just Neighbors? Research on African American and Latino Relations in the US. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
9. Grofman, Bernard, Frank Wayman and Matt Barreto. 2009. "Rethinking partisanship: Some thoughts on a unified theory." In John Bartle and Paolo Bellucci (eds.) Political Parties and Partisanship: Social identity and individual attitudes. New York: Routledge Press.
8. Barreto, Matt, Ricardo Ramírez, Luis Fraga and Fernando Guerra. 2009. "Why California Matters: How California Latinos Influence the Presidential Election." In Rodolfo de la Garza, Louis DeSipio and David Leal (eds.) Beyond the Barrio: Latinos in the 2004 Elections. South Bend, ID: University of Notre Dame Press.

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7. Francisco Pedraza and Matt Barreto. 2008. "Exit Polls and Ethnic Diversity: How to Improve Estimates and Reduce Bias Among Minority Voters." In Wendy Alvey and Fritz Scheuren (eds.) Elections and Exit Polling. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley and Sons.
6. Adrian Pantoja, Matt Barreto and Richard Anderson. 2008. "Politics y la Iglesia: Attitudes Toward the Role of Religion in Politics Among Latino Catholics" In Michael Genovese, Kristin Hayer and Mark J. Rozell (eds.) Catholics and Politics. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press..
5. Barreto, Matt. 2007. "The Role of Latino Candidates in Mobilizing Latino Voters: Revisiting Latino Vote Choice." In Rodolfo Espino, David Leal and Kenneth Meier (eds.) Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization, and Representation. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
4. Abosch, Yishaiya, Matt Barreto and Nathan Woods. 2007. "An Assessment of Racially Polarized Voting For and Against Latinos Candidates in California." In Ana Henderson (ed.) Voting Rights Act Reauthorization of 2006: Perspectives on Democracy, Participation, and Power. Berkeley, CA: UC Berkeley Public Policy Press.
3. Barreto, Matt and Ricardo Ramirez. 2005. "The Race Card and California Politics: Minority Voters and Racial Cues in the 2003 Recall Election." In Shaun Bowler and Bruce Cain (eds.) Clicker Politics: Essays on the California Recall. Englewood-Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
2. Barreto, Matt and Nathan Woods. 2005. "The Anti-Latino Political Context and its Impact on GOP Detachment and Increasing Latino Voter Turnout in Los Angeles County." In Gary Segura and Shawn Bowler (eds.) Diversity in Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
1. Pachon, Harry, Matt Barreto and Frances Marquez. 2004. "Latino Politics Comes of Age in the Golden State." In Rodolfo de la Garza and Louis DeSipio (eds.) Muted Voices: Latino Politics in the 2000 Election. New York: Rowman & Littlefield



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**RESEARCH AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS**

Aug 2018	Provost Initiative for Voting Rights Research UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Chad Dunn]	\$90,000 – 24 months
April 2018	Democracy Fund & Wellspring Philanthropic UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	\$200,000 – 18 months
March 2018	AltaMed California UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	\$250,000 – 12 months
Dec 2017	California Community Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	\$100,000 – 12 months
July 2013	Ford Foundation UW Center for Democracy and Voting Rights	\$200,000 – 12 months
April 2012	American Values Institute [With Ben Gonzalez] Racial Narratives and Public Response to Racialized Moments	\$40,000 – 3 months
Jan 2012	American Civil Liberties Union Foundation [With Gabriel Sanchez] Voter Identification Laws in Wisconsin	\$60,000 – 6 months
June 2011	State of California Citizens Redistricting Commission An Analysis of Racial Bloc Voting in California Elections	\$60,000 – 3 months
Apr 2011	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) [With Karam Dana] Muslim and American? A national conference on the political and social incorporation of American Muslims	\$50,000 – 18 months
Jan 2011	impreMedia [With Gary Segura] Latino public opinion tracking poll of voter attitudes in 2011	\$30,000 – 6 months
Oct 2010	National Council of La Raza (NCLR) [With Gary Segura] Measuring Latino Influence in the 2010 Elections	\$128,000 – 6 months
Oct 2010	We Are America Alliance (WAAA) [With Gary Segura] Latino and Asian American Immigrant Community Voter Study	\$79,000 – 3 months
May 2010	National Council of La Raza (NCLR) [With Gary Segura] A Study of Latino Views Towards Arizona SB1070	\$25,000 – 3 months
Apr 2010	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) [With Karam Dana] Muslim and American? The influence of religiosity in Muslim political incorporation	\$50,000 – 18 months
Oct 2009	American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) [With Gary Segura] Health care reform and Latino public opinion	\$25,000 – 3 months
Nov 2008	impreMedia & National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) [With Gary Segura] 2008 National Latino Post-Election Survey, Presidential Election	\$46,000 – 3 months
July 2008	National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) [With Gary Segura] Latino voter outreach survey – an evaluation of Obama and McCain	\$72,000 – 3 months
June 2008	The Pew Charitable Trusts, Make Voting Work Project [with Karin MacDonald and Bonnie Glaser] Evaluating Online Voter Registration (OVR) Systems in Arizona and Washington	\$220,000 – 10 months

**RESEARCH GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS CONTINUED...**

April 2008	National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) & National Council of La Raza (NCLR), 2008 Latino voter messaging survey	\$95,000 – 6 months
Dec. 2007	Research Royalty Fund, University of Washington 2008 Latino national post-election survey	\$39,000 – 12 months
Oct. 2007	Brenan Center for Justice, New York University [with Stephen Nuño and Gabriel Sanchez] Indiana Voter Identification Study	\$40,000 – 6 months
June 2007	National Science Foundation, Political Science Division [with Gary Segura] American National Election Study – Spanish translation and Latino oversample	\$750,000 – 24 months
Oct. 2006	University of Washington, Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education Absentee voter study during the November 2006 election in King County, WA	\$12,000 – 6 months
Mar. 2006	Latino Policy Coalition Public Opinion Research Grant [with Gary Segura] Awarded to the Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race	\$40,000 – 18 months
2005 – 2006	University of Washington, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Research Grant	\$8,000 – 12 months
Mar. 2005	Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation Grant [with Fernando Guerra] Conduct Exit Poll during Los Angeles Mayoral Election, Mar. 8 & May 17, 2005 Awarded to the Center for the Study of Los Angeles	\$30,000 – 6 months
2004 – 2005	Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities	\$21,000 – 12 months
2004 – 2005	University of California President's Dissertation Fellowship	\$14,700 – 9 months
2004 – 2005	University of California Mexico-US (UC MEXUS) Dissertation Grant	\$12,000 – 9 months
Apr – 2004	UC Regents pre-dissertation fellowship, University of California, Irvine,	\$4,700 – 3 months
2003 – 2004	Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation Grant [with Fernando Guerra] Awarded to the Center for the Study of Los Angeles	\$20,000 – 12 months
2002 – 2003	Ford Foundation Grant on Institutional Inequality [with Harry Pachon] Conducted longitudinal study of Prop 209 on Latino and Black college admittance Awarded to Tomás Rivera Policy Institute	\$150,000 – 12 months
2002 – 2003	Haynes Foundation Grant on Economic Development [with Louis Tornatzky] Knowledge Economy in the Inland Empire region of Southern California Awarded to Tomás Rivera Policy Institute	\$150,000 – 18 months
2001 – 2002	William F Podlich Graduate Fellowship, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine	\$24,000 – 9 months



**RESEARCH UNDER REVIEW/WORKING PAPERS:**

Barreto, Matt, and Christopher Parker. The Great White Hope: Donald Trump, Race, and the Crisis of American Politics. Under Contract, University of Chicago Press, *expected 2020*

Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. "The Great White Hope: Existential Threat and Demographic Anxiety in the Age of Trump." Revise and Resubmit.

Barreto, Matt, Natalie Masuoka, Gabe Sanchez and Stephen El-Khatib. "Religiosity, Discrimination and Group Identity Among Muslim Americans" Revise and Resubmit

Barreto, Matt, Gabe Sanchez and Barbara Gomez. "Latinos, Blacks, and Black Latinos: Competition, Cooperation, or Indifference?" Revise and Resubmit

Walker, Hannah, Matt Barreto, Stephen Nuño, and Gabriel Sanchez. "A comprehensive review of access to valid photo ID and the right to vote in America" [Under review]

Gutierrez, Angela, Angela Ocampo, Matt Barreto and Gary Segura. "From Proposition 187 to Donald Trump: New Evidence that Anti-Immigrant Threat Mobilizes Latino Voters." [Under Review]

Collins, Jonathan, Matt Barreto, Gregory Leslie and Tye Rush. "Racial Efficacy and Voter Enthusiasm Among African Americans Post-Obama" [Under Review]

Oskooii, Kassra, Matt Barreto, and Karam Dana. "No Sharia, No Mosque: Orientalist Notions of Islam and Intolerance Toward Muslims in the United States" [Under Review]

Barreto, Matt, David Redlawsk and Caroline Tolbert. "Framing Barack Obama: Muslim, Christian or Black?" [Working paper]

**CONSULTING EXPERT:**

- North Carolina, 2019, Expert for Plaintiffs in North Carolina voter ID lawsuit, NAACP v. Cooper
- New York, 2018, Expert for Plaintiffs in Census Citizenship Lawsuit, New York v. U.S. Dept of Commerce (also an expert related cases: *California v. Ross* and *Kravitz v. Dept of Commerce*)
- East Ramapo CSD, 2018, Expert for Plaintiffs in Section 2 VRA lawsuit, assessed polarized voting
- Dallas County, TX, 2017, Expert for Defense in Section 2 VRA lawsuit, Harding v. Dallas County
- Kansas, 2016, Expert for Plaintiffs in Kansas voter registration lawsuit, Fish v. Kobach 2:16-cv-02105-JAR
- North Dakota, 2015, Expert for Plaintiffs in North Dakota voter ID lawsuit, Brakebill v. Jaeger 1:16-cv-00008-CSM
- Alabama, 2015, Expert for Plaintiffs in Alabama voter ID lawsuit, Birmingham Ministries v. State of Alabama 2:15-cv-02193-LSC
- Texas, 2014, Testifying Expert for Plaintiffs in Texas voter ID lawsuit, Veasey v. Perry 2:13-cv-00193
- Galveston County, TX Redistricting, 2013, Expert report for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, vote dilution analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit Galveston County JP/Constable districting
- Pasadena, TX Redistricting, 2013, Expert report for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit within Pasadena School District
- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Testifying Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit within Harris County
- Pennsylvania, 2012, Testifying Expert for ACLU Foundation of Pennsylvania in voter ID lawsuit, Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania No. 330 MD 2012
- Milwaukee County, WI, 2012, Testifying Expert for ACLU Foundation of Wisconsin in voter ID lawsuit, Frank v. Walker 2:11-cv-01128(LA)
- Orange County, FL, 2012, Consulting Expert for Latino Justice/PRLDEF, Racially polarized voting analysis in Orange County, Florida
- Anaheim, CA, 2012, Consulting Expert for Goldstein, Demchak & Baller Legal, Racially polarized voting analysis for CVRA redistricting case Anaheim, CA
- Los Angeles County, CA, 2011, Consulting Expert for Goldstein, Demchak & Baller Legal, Racially polarized voting analysis for three redistricting cases in L.A.: Cerritos Community College Board; ABC Unified Schools; City of West Covina
- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, for Section 5 objection within Harris County
- Monterey County, CA Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for City of Salinas, Demographic analysis, creation of alternative maps, and racially polarized Voting analysis within Monterey County
- Los Angeles County Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert for Supervisor Gloria Molina, Racially Polarized voting analysis within L.A. County
- State of California, Citizens Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert, Racially Polarized Voting analysis throughout state of California
- Asian Pacific American Legal Center, 2011, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Asian American candidates in Los Angeles for APALC redistricting brief
- Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and Arnold & Porter, LLP, 2010-12, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino and Asian candidates in San Mateo County, concerning San Mateo County Board of Supervisors
- ACLU of Washington, 2010-11, preliminary analysis of Latino population patterns in Yakima, Washington, to assess ability to draw majority Latino council districts

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- State of Washington, 2010-11, provided expert analysis and research for *State of Washington v. MacLean* in case regarding election misconduct and voting patterns
- Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association, 2008-10, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino candidates in L.A. County for VRA case, concerning L.A. County Board of Supervisors redistricting (6 reports issued 08-10)
- Brennan Center for Justice and Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson LLP, 2009-10 Amicus Brief submitted to Indiana Supreme Court, *League of Women Voters v. Rokita*, regarding access to voter identification among minority and lower resource citizens
- State of New Mexico, consulting expert for state in *AAPD v. New Mexico*, 2008,
- District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS), statistical consultant for survey methodology of opinion survey of parents in DCPS district (for pending suit), 2008,
- Brennan Center for Justice, 2007-08, Amicus Brief submitted to U.S. Supreme Court, and cited in Supreme Court decision, *Crawford v. Marion County*, regarding access to voter identification among minority and lower-resource citizens
- Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association, 2002-07, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino candidates in L.A. County for VRA case, concerning L.A. County Board of Supervisors redistricting (12 + reports issued during 5 years)
- Monterrey County School Board, 2007, demographic and population analysis for VRA case
- Sweetwater Union School District, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis, and demographic and population analysis for VRA case
- Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis for Latino candidates, for City of Whittier city council races, for VRA case
- ACLU of Washington, 2008, preliminary analysis of voting patterns in Eastern Washington, related to electability of Latino candidates
- Nielsen Media Research, 2005-08, with Willie C. Velasquez Institute, assessed the methodology of Latino household recruitment in Nielsen sample

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**TEACHING  
EXPERIENCE:**

UCLA &amp; UW

2005 – Present

- Minority Political Behavior (Grad Seminar)
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S. (Grad Seminar)
- Introduction to Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Advanced Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Qualitative Research Methods (Grad Seminar)
- Political Participation & Elections (Grad Seminar)
- The Voting Rights Act (Law School seminar)
- Research methodology II (Law School Ph.D. program seminar)
- U.S. Latino Politics
- Racial and Ethnic Politics in the U.S.
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S.
- Introduction to American Government
- Public Opinion Research
- Campaigns and Elections in the U.S.
- Presidential Primary Elections

**Teaching Assistant**

University of California, Irvine

2002 – 2005

- Intro to American Politics (K. Tate)
- Intro to Minority Politics (L. DeSipio)
- **Recognized as Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Winter 2002**
- Statistics and Research Methods (B. Grofman)
- **Recognized as Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Winter 2003**

**BOARD &  
RESEARCH  
APPOINTMENTS****Founding Partner**

Latino Decisions

2007 – Present**Senior Research Fellow**

Center for the Study of Los Angeles, Loyola Marymount University

2002 – Present**Board of Advisors**

American National Election Study, University of Michigan

2010 – Present**Advisory Board**States of Change: Demographics & Democracy Project  
*CAP, AEI, Brookings Collaborative Project*2014 – Present**Research Advisor**

American Values Institute / Perception Institute

2009 – 2014**Expert Consultant**

State of California, Citizens Redistricting Committee

2011 – 2012**Senior Scholar & Advisory Council**

Latino Policy Coalition, San Francisco, CA

2006 – 2008**Board of Directors**

CASA Latina, Seattle, WA

2006 – 2009**Faculty Research Scholar**

Tomás Rivera Policy Institute, University of Southern California

1999 – 2009

**PHD STUDENTS**

UCLA &amp; UW

**Committee Chair or Co-Chair**

- Francisco I. Pedraza – University of California, Riverside (UW Ph.D. 2009)
- Loren Collingwood – University of California, Riverside (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Betsy Cooper – Public Religion Research Institute, Washington DC (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Sergio I. Garcia-Rios – Cornell University (UW Ph.D. 2015)
- Hannah Walker – Rutgers University (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Kassra Oskooii – University of Delaware (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Angela Ocampo – Arizona State University (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Ayobami Lanijonu – University of Toronto (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Adria Tinin – *in progress* (UCLA ABD)
- Bang Quan Zheng – *in progress* (UCLA ABD)
- Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta – *in progress* (UCLA ABD)
- Tyler Reny – *in progress* (UCLA ABD)
- Angie Gutierrez – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Shakari Byerly-Nelson – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Vivien Leung – *in progress* (UCLA)

**Committee Member**

- Jessica Stewart – Emory University (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Jonathan Collins – Brown University (UCLA Ph.D., 2017)
- Lisa Sanchez – University of Arizona (UNM Ph.D., 2016)
- Nazita Lajevardi – Michigan State University (UC San Diego Ph.D., 2016)
- Kiku Huckle – Pace University (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Patrick Rock (Social Psychology) – (UCLA Ph.D. 2016)
- Raynee Gutting – Loyola Marymount University (Stony Brook Ph.D. 2015)
- Christopher Towler – Sacramento State University (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Benjamin F. Gonzalez – San Diego State University (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Marcela Garcia-Castañon – San Francisco State University (UW Ph.D. 2013)
- Justin Reedy (Communications) – University of Oklahoma (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Dino Bozonelos – Cal State San Marcos (UC Riverside Ph.D. 2012)
- Brandon Bosch – University of Nebraska (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Karam Dana (Middle East Studies) – UW Bothell (UW Ph.D. 2010)
- Joy Wilke – *in progress* (UCLA ABD)
- Erik Hanson – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Christine Slaughter – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Lauren Goldstein (Social Psychology) – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga – University of Nebraska (UNM Ph.D., *in progress*)